

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI
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AMEMBASSY MUSCAT
AMEMBASSY SANA
INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY KABUL
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

S E C R E T STATE 153167

EXDIS; FOR AMBASSADORS AND CHARGES FROM SAUNDERS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PEPR, AF, ZP

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SUBJECT: THE AFGHANISTAN SITUATION AND ARABIAN PENINSULA
SECURITY

REF: STATE 141033

1. IN ATTEMPTING TO APPEAR RESPONSIVE TO FREQUENTLY
EXPRESSED CONCERNS OF PENINSULA GOVERNMENTS ABOUT SOVIET
AND SOVIET-SUPPORTED RADICAL THREATS, DEPARTMENT BELIEVES
IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO EXPAND DIALOGUE, WHICH RECENTLY HAS
FOCUSED ON HORN OF AFRICA AND PDRY, TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT
EVOLUTION OF SITUATION IN SUB-CONTINENT IN WAKE OF COUP IN
AFGHANISTAN. WE WOULD HOPE IN THIS DIALOGUE TO FOSTER:

(A) REALISTIC AND REASONED ASSESSMENT BY PENINSULA STATES OF SIGNIFICANCE OF AFGHANISTAN COUP AND ITS IMPACT ON SECURITY OF MODERATE STATES IN REGION;

(B) CONFIDENCE ON PART OF PENINSULA STATES THAT USG IS:
----- SENSITIVE TO THEIR SECURITY CONCERNS;

----- KEEPING CLOSE GLOBAL WATCH ON SOVIET INTENTIONS AND ACTIVITIES; AND

----- PREPARED TO ACT PURPOSEFULLY IN APPROPRIATE RESPONSES;

(C) RECOGNITION BY PENINSULA STATES OF NEED TO SUPPORT PAKISTAN, AND IMPORTANCE OF DOING SO IN A MANNER EMPHASIZING COORDINATION OF AT LEAST BROAD PARAMETERS OF U.S.-IRANIAN-PENINSULA EFFORTS;

(D) MORE REALISTIC AND KNOWLEDGEABLE PENINSULA REACTION TO PRESENT POLITICAL TENSIONS IN IRAN AND GREATER CONFIDENCE IN CURRENT EXCELLENT PROSPECTS FOR LONG TERM ORDERLY PROGRESS THERE;
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(E) KEENER UNDERSTANDING ON PART OF PENINSULA STATES OF KEY ROLE IRAN PLAYS IN SECURITY OF VAST REGION EAST OF GULF AND BENEFITS OF EXPANDING COOPERATION BETWEEN PENINSULA STATES AND IRAN TO FOCUS NOT ONLY DIRECTLY ON GULF REGION ITSELF, BUT BEYOND TO SUB-CONTINENT AND AFRICA.

2. IN PURSUING THIS DIALOGUE WITH APPROPRIATE SENIOR LEVELS OF HOST GOVERNMENTS YOU MAY WISH TO DRAW ON FOLLOWING POINTS:

-- USG HAS BEEN SENSITIVE TO CONCERNS EXPRESSED BY VARIOUS PENINSULA GOVERNMENTS ABOUT SOVIET INTENTIONS IN GENERAL REGION AND THE GULF ITSELF;

-- WE ARE TAKING THESE CONCERNS INTO CAREFUL ACCOUNT IN OUR OWN ONGOING ASSESSMENT OF SOVIET INTENTIONS IN AREA AND HOW MOST EFFECTIVELY TO RESPOND;

-- RECENT U.S. PUBLIC STATEMENTS, FOR INSTANCE IN CONTEXT OF NATO MEETING AND PRESIDENT'S JUNE 7 ANNAPOLIS SPEECH, SHOULD LEAVE NO DOUBT USG IS VIGILANT TO NEED TO RESPOND APPROPRIATELY AND FIRMLY TO SOVIET STRATEGIES AND ACTIONS WHICH SEEK TO ALTER GLOBAL BALANCE OR TO DESTABILIZE POLITICAL/SECURITY SITUATION IN AFRICA AND ELSEWHERE;

-- WE WANT TO KEEP IN CLOSE CONSULTATIONS WITH FRIENDLY

PENINSULA STATES ABOUT SITUATION IN NEIGHBORING AREAS
WHICH MIGHT IMPACT ON SECURITY OF PENINSULA ITSELF;

-- WITH RESPECT TO AFGHANISTAN WE ARE CONCERNED BY HOW
NEW SITUATION THERE COULD AFFECT REGION. WHILE WE ARE
NOT PERSUADED SOVIETS WERE INVOLVED IN PLANNING OR
EXECUTING COUP THERE IS NO DOUBT THEY HAVE MOVED TO
CAPITALIZE ON NEW SITUATION;

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--SINCE THE COUP, SOME 20 AFGHAN-SOVIET BILATERAL ECONOMIC
AGREEMENTS HAVE BEEN SIGNED VALUED AT MORE THAN DOLS 35
MILLION. (NOTE: MOST OF THESE AGREEMENTS WERE ALREADY
UNDER NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE DAOUD GOVERNMENT.) THE SOVIETS
HAVE SENT ADDITIONAL MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ADVISORS TO
KABUL, MANY OF WHOM HAVE BEEN DEPLOYED TO KEY POSITIONS
WITHIN THE MILITARY AND CIVILIAN BUREAUCRACY.

--THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AFGHANISTAN CLEARLY
CONTROLS THE GOVERNMENT AND HAS STRUCTURED ITSELF ALONG
LINES SIMILAR TO COMMUNIST PARTIES ELSEWHERE. IT HAS A
CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND A SECRETARIAT, AS WELL AS A POLITICAL
BUREAU OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. IN ADDITION TO ITS REVO-
LUTIONARY RHETORIC, THE PARTY HAS FOR MANY YEARS ADVOCATED
A POLICY OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR PUSHTUNS AND BALUCHIS
IN PAKISTAN.

--WE BELIEVE THAT THE NEW AFGHAN REGIME WITH OR WITHOUT
SOVIET ENCOURAGEMENT COULD REVIVE THE PUSHTUNISTAN AND
BALUCHISTAN QUESTIONS, THEREBY CAUSING SERIOUS SECURITY
PROBLEMS FOR BOTH IRAN AND PAKISTAN. FOR EXAMPLE, IN A
RECENT PRESS INTERVIEW WITH HAMBURG'S DIE ZEIT NEWSPAPER.
PRESIDENT TARAKI, IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION ABOUT PUSHTUN-
ISTAN AND BALUCHISTAN SAID "WE BASICALLY SUPPORT NATIONAL
LIBERATION MOVEMENTS."

--WHILE WE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE TREND OF EVENTS
IN AFGHANISTAN, WE BELIEVE IT TO BE IN THE BEST INTEREST
OF THE US AND OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE REGION TO TRY AND
MAINTAIN LINKS TO THE NEW REGIME. AFGHANS HAVE A LONG
TRADITION OF INDEPENDENCE AND WE NEED TO NURTURE THIS BY
PROVIDING SOME ALTERNATIVE TO TOTAL RELIANCE ON THE SOVIET
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UNION.

--IN OUR EARLY CONTACTS WITH THE NEW GOVERNMENT, WE ARE
PROCEEDING CAUTIOUSLY BUT WE HAVE INDICATED OUR WILLING-
NESS TO WORK WITH THE REGIME IN SUPPORT OF AFGHANISTAN'S
INDEPENDENCE. WE ARE TELLING THE NEW LEADERS THAT WE WILL

JUDGE THEM BY THEIR ACTIONS AND EXPECT THEM TO LIVE UP TO THEIR STATED POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT.

--AT THE SAME TIME, WE HAVE STRESSED OUR SUPPORT FOR REGIONAL STABILITY AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF PROBLEMS AMONG COUNTRIES OF THE REGION. MOREOVER, WE REGARD THE PRESENT PAK-AFGAHN BORDER TO BE THE INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED BOUNDARY.

--BEYOND THE ISSUE OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH AFGHAN-

ISTAN, WE RECOGNIZE THE NEED TO ADDRESS THE REGIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE CHANGES IN KABUL. WE BELIEVE THAT THE U.S. AND MODERATE STATES IN THE REGION SHOULD RESPOND BY JOINING IN A COMMON EFFORT TO SUPPORT PAKISTAN IN STRENGTHENING ITS CAPABILITIES TO WITHSTAND AND BUFFER ANY ADDITIONAL PRESSURE SOVIETS MAY BE ABLE TO EXERT THROUGH AFGHANISTAN. USG IS LOOKING CAREFULLY AT STEPS IT MIGHT TAKE IN TERMS OF ECONOMIC AND OTHER ASSISTANCE TO HELP PAKISTAN. IN SO DOING WE PLACE GREAT IMPORTANCE ON CLOSE CONSULTATIONS WITH REGIONAL STATES WHICH ALSO HAVE AN INTEREST IN THE STRENGTH AND STABILITY OF PAKISTAN AND MAY ALSO BE IN A POSITION TO HELP. WE LOOK FORWARD TO DISCUSSING SPECIFIC IDEAS AS THEY EVOLVE;

--IN THIS CONNECTION WE WANT TO SHARE WITH THE PENINSULA STATES OUR ASSESMENT OF SITUATION IN IRAN AND ROLE IRAN CAN PLAY AS FORCE FOR STABILITY EAST OF THE GULF. IF DESIRED WE CAN DISCUSS SUBJECT IN MORE DETAIL LATER. WE WILL OF COURSE BE WATCHING INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS IN IRAN WITH
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GREAT INTEREST, BUT BELIEVE RECENT POLITICAL TENSIONS ARE LARGELY MANIFESTATIONS OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS IRAN HAS MADE IN RECENT YEARS AND OF THE SHAH'S LIMITED STEPS IN THE PAST TWO YEARS TO PERMIT INCREASED EXPRESSION OF POLITICAL OPPOSITION. WE REMAIN PERSUADED THAT PROSPECTS ARE EXCELLENT FOR CONTINUED ORDERLY DEVELOPMENT OF IRAN UNDER LEADERSHIP OF SHAH AND EVENTUALLY HIS DESIGNATED HEIR. WE BELIEVE PENINSULA STATES WOULD AGREE THAT IRAN HAS AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY AS A FOCAL POINT IN PROMOTING STABILITY IN PAKISTAN, IN THE SUB-CONTINENT GENERALLY AND IN THE LARGER REGION WHICH INCLUDES PARTS OF AFRICA. IRAN'S INTERNATIONAL UNDERTAKINGS IN THE REGION DURING THE PAST DECADE HAVE BEEN OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO ITS FRIENDS, INCLUDING THE US;

--OVER THE LAST DECADE USG HAS BEEN GRATIFIED TO SEE THE GREAT PROGRESS THE PENINSULA STATES HAVE MADE IN BUILDING STRONG MODERN ECONOMIES AND SOCIETIES AND IN WORKING CLOSELY TOGETHER IN COMMON INTERESTS OF REGIONAL SECURITY. IN OUR OWN ASSESSMENT WE THINK THE STRENGTH AND PROGRESS

ACHIEVED BY THE STATES OF THE PENINSULA, AND BY IRAN,
ARE FACTORS THAT MUST BE HEAVILY WEIGHED IN EVALUATING
SOME OF THE DESTABILIZING EVENTS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE
RECENTLY IN AREAS BEYOND THE GULF;

-- A PARTICULARLY ENCOURAGING FACTOR IN RECENT YEARS HAS
BEEN THE GROWING PERCEPTION OF A COMMUNITY OF INTERESTS
BETWEEN THE PENINSULA STATES AND IRAN, WITH PARTICULAR
REFERENCE TO SECURITY AND POLITICAL TRANQUILLITY IN THE
REGION. IT IS OUR IMPRESSION THAT CONCEPTUALLY THIS
COOPERATION HAS MORE OR LESS FOCUSED ON THE GULF ITSELF
UP TO NOW;

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-- WE BELIEVE RECENT EVENTS IN AFGHANISTAN AND RELATED
NEED TO STRENGTHEN POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SECURITY
SITUATION IN PAKISTAN PROVIDE AN EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY
FOR EXPANDING COOPERATION BETWEEN THE PENINSULA STATES AND
IRAN, FOCUSING NOT JUST ON THE SITUATION IN THE GULF
ITSELF BUT ON COMMON INTERESTS IN STRENGTHENING ELEMENTS OF
STABILITY IN THE SUB-CONTINENT AND ELSEWHERE;

-- WE HOPE THE PENINSULA STATES WILL STAY IN CLOSE CON-
SULTATION NOT JUST WITH US BUT ALSO WITH IRAN AS WE
ATTEMPT TO DEVELOP COMPLEMENTARY STRATEGIES AND
INCREASE COOPERATION FOR FOSTERING CONDITIONS IN THE SUB-
CONTINENT WHICH WILL BE CONDUCIVE TO LONG TERM SECURITY OF
PENINSULA/GULF REGION;

-- IN VIEWING COMPREHENSIVELY THE FACTORS IN THE BROADER
REGION WHICH IMPACT ON PENINSULA SECURITY, THE USG
REMAINS, OF COURSE, KEENLY AWARE THAT PENINSULA STATES
REGARD PROGRESS TOWARD ACHIEVEMENT OF A DURABLE MIDDLE
EAST PEACE AS PERHAPS PRIMARY REQUIREMENT FOR THEIR LONG-
TERM SAFETY AND POLITICAL TRANQUILLITY. WE BELIEVE
PENINSULA GOVERNMENTS HAVE FULL CONFIDENCE IN THE
DETERMINATION OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TO PROCEED
PURPOSEFULLY IN FURTHERANCE OF THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE
PROCESS, AND WE WELCOME THE COUNSEL AND COOPERATION OF
PENINSULA STATES AS WE PROCEED IN THIS MAJOR U.S. FOREIGN
POLICY OBJECTIVE. CHRISTOPHER

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